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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to compare the attitudes of black youth who have a favorable orientation toward the Black Panthers with those of black youth who appear to be oriented toward the N.A.A.C.P. Information involving orientations toward organizations concerned with the lives of black Americans was collected as part of a larger study on the attitudes of students attending segregated high schools in five cities. An anonymous questionnaire was administered in the Spring of 1970. Of the 759 respondents, 188 were from Kansas City, 203 from Eastern City, 204 from Deep South City, 99 from Upper Midwestern City, and 65 from Lower Midwestern City. Supporters of the Black Panthers and the N.A.A.C.P. were identified by using responses to the open-ended item "What groups do you feel are doing the most to help black people?" A respondent was classified as a supporter of one of the two organizations if he cited that organization first and the other not at all. (JM)

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DIFFERENCES BETWEEN BLACK YOUTH WHO SUPPORT THE BLACK PANTHERS AND THE NAACP

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Several black writers have described mixed feelings of pride, repugnance, and uncertainty they have felt watching the rapid rise to prominence of the Black Panther party between 1967 and 1970.

On the one hand, many black Americans fear that actions of the Panthers will bring about a backlash which may harm the progress being made in some segments of the black population, and most black citizens firmly reject violent methods which both blacks and whites frequently associate with the Panthers.[1]

On the other hand, a recent national poll indicated that 43% of black respondents under the age of 21 agreed with the statement "The Black Panthers represent my own personal views."[2] In addition, black Americans who do not support the Panthers ideologically or politically have said they cannot help but feel proud when the Panthers or other militant groups verbalize some of their deepest feelings and instill a certain amount of fear among many white Americans.[3] Gilbert Moore of Life magazine, for example, has written that:

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[1]A national poll conducted by Louis Harris in 1970 indicated that 84% of black Americans either felt that violence should be avoided at all costs or that violence should be a last resort used only when "all else has failed." "The Black Mood: More Militant, More Hopeful, More Determined," Time, April 6, 1970, 28.

[2]Ibid., 29.

[3]Harris found that while only one-fourth of his respondents agreed with the statement, "The Black Panthers represent my own personal views," 64% agreed with the statement, "Panthers give me a sense of pride." Ibid.

*Based on data collected in a study partially funded under National Institute of Mental Health Grand # 1 RO 3 MH 17107.

> I curse the Black Panthers for raising ten thousand questions and answering none of them. I thank them for wrenching me from political slumber when I was scheduled to die quietly, ineffectually, in my sleep.
>
> . . . there is not a black man or woman in America who in some indefinable way has not been touched or pushed or made uptight or been driven insane trying to embrace them.
>
> And it doesn't matter one whit whether there will now be two Black Panther parties, or six Black Panther parties or none at all. . . .We were all of us Black Panthers from the very start, anyway.[4]

Similarly, a journalist reporting on developments in black neighborhoods in New Haven and elsewhere in the east has written that:

> The state of the Panther party in any town at any particular time does not really matter, because the fever has passed to the children. The revolutionary lifestyle requires passionate commitment, battlefront reflexes, gut responses. It sends shudders through the white man. J. Edgar Hoover may be the nation's greatest Panther recruiter. Who could have imagined that in 1969 he would label the Panthers--then a couple of dozen black men and women--as the greatest threat to the internal security of the United States? What a challenge to live up to! It can be strong enough even to pull a young dude back from the traditional comfort of dope. The pace is right. The demands of urban guerilla life offer a substitute for the desperate habitual rhythm of hustling, which is the hardest thing for an addict to give up. In fact the demands on the guerrilla are greater.
>
> Consider also the lure of mobility. Revolutionaries travel--planes, cabs, Chicago, Detroit, California, Cuba, Hanoi, Algiers, moving with the spontaneity of the jet set and the mystery of the Mafia, all financed by adoring white liberals and dignified by a noble cause. Imagine the prospect as seen by a boy raised before the bedroom TV, with a housekey around his neck, marking time among the shut-ins of the ghetto. Even his parents can see the pull. It extends past party lines and trial names. A certain psycho-political hold is on black children burning like a billion wooden matches struck in unison across the emotions, and certain primordial debts are about to be settled with white society at life-or-death stakes.[5]

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[4]Gilbert Moore, A Special Rage (New York: Harper & Row, 1971).

[5]Gail Sheehy, "Black Against Black: The Agony of Panthermania," New York, v. 3, no. 46 (November 16, 1970), 38.

Given the contemporary social and psychological forces which appear to make many black Americans - especially youth - sympathetic toward the Black Panthers, it is important to know how much support the Panthers have and whether black youth who sympathize with or support the Panthers also accept Panther ideology and politics. Thus one may ask whether support for the Black Panthers really represents an endorsement of the radical ideas with which the Panthers have been associated. Was the New York Times right, for example, in making the following claim in a recent editorial?

> White radicals have glorified the Panthers because they see them as an ally in the destruction of the institutions of political democracy rather than as a defender of civil rights. A combination of the Panthers' violent hatreds and naive ideologies fits neatly into the plans of those who prefer revolution to reform. This is precisely why the legend of the Panthers as representative of the mood and aspirations of Black Americans is a dangerous fraud.[6]

However, since the majority of black Americans, like the average white American, generally do not have detailed knowledge of the official philosophies of the political organizations which they may support or identify with, it is more useful to ask whether supporters of the Panthers differ in their ideas and attitudes from supporters of more traditional and less radical organizations. The purpose of the present study is to throw light on this issue by comparing the attitudes of black youth who have a favorable orientation toward the Black Panthers with those of black youth who appear to be oriented toward the NAACP rather than the Panthers.

SAMPLE AND PROCEDURES

Information involving orientations toward organizations concerned with the lives of black Americans was collected as part of a larger study on the attitudes

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[6] "The Panther Pathology," The New York Times, Sunday, April 25, 1971, E 14.

of students attending segregated black high schools in five cities.[7] The five cities in which cooperation was obtained in administering an anonymous questionnaire to a sample of students in an all-black or predominantly-black high school were as follows:

> Kansas City, Missouri: Kansas City is a city of slightly over 500,000 in a metropolitan area of approximately 1,250,000. The Negro population constitutes 23% of the city population and 50% of the largest public school district in the city. Approximately 75% of the black students in the district attend schools which are 90% or more black.
>
> Eastern City: One of the largest cities on the east coast, Eastern City has a black population which is about 35% of the total city population. Black pupils constitute about 60% of public school enrollment. An estimated 70% of the black pupils in Eastern City attend schools which are virtually all black.
>
> Deep South City: The deep south school included in the sample is located in a very small city of several thousand people. About 50 percent of the city population and 85% of the public school population is Negro. We have no reason to believe that this city is either typical or atypical of other small cities in the deep south.
>
> Upper Midwestern City: Upper Midwestern City is a very large city in the Great Lakes Region. Approximately 33% of the people in the city and 55 percent of the students in the public schools are black. This city is often cited, both locally and nationally, as having one of the highest if not the highest rate of residential as well as public school segregation in the United States. More than ninety percent of the black students who attend public elementary schools in Upper Midestern City are enrolled in schools which are nearly all Negro.
>
> Lower Midwestern City: Although Lower Midwestern City is only about 20% larger in population than Kansas City, more than twice as many black people live in Lower Midwestern City as in Kansas City. The metropolitan area of Lower Midwestern City is much larger than the Kansas City SMSA, as is the percentage of black citizens within the city population. Approximately 40% of the residents of Lower Midwestern City and 70% of the public school students are black. Eighty-five percent of the black pupils in public schools in Lower Midwestern City are in all black schools. These facts imply that the black ghetto in Lower Midwestern City is much larger than its counterpart in Kansas City.

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[7] Daniel U. Levine et al. The Attitudes of Students at Black High Schools in Five Cities, Spring 1970. (Kansas City, Missouri: Center for the Study of Metropolitan Problems in Education, 1971) mimeo.

Questionnaires were administered in the Spring of 1970 at the five high schools at which school officials had agreed to cooperate in data collection. Questionnaires in each school were distributed and collected by contact persons whom we had good reason to believe maintained cordial and respectful relationships with students and had the confidence of both the student body and the staff. Respondents were explicitly instructed that they should not provide any information that might allow for personal identification and were assured that nothing would be done to bring discredit or disfavor on their schools. Altogether, 759 usable questionnaires were obtained from the five cities. Of the 759 respondents, 188 were from Kansas City, 203 were from Eastern City, 204 were from Deep South City, 99 were from Upper Midwestern City, and 65 were from Lower Midwestern City.[8]

It should be particularly noted that some of the items on the questionnaire were open-ended questions which students were requested to answer in their own words. Previous research we had conducted with samples of students from black high schools had shown that inter-rater reliabilities in categorizing responses on the open-ended items ranged from 67 to 91%, with most between 74 and 85 percent. For the present study, four raters independently sorted responses on the open-ended items from a random sample of 100 questionnaires into response categories which had been established after considerable study by one of the investigators. Inter-rater reliability using this procedure was 87 percent.

Supporters of the Black Panthers and the NAACP were identified by using responses to the item "What groups do you feel are doing the most to help black people?" The item was open-ended, with space provided to write in the names of at least four organizations. Though hardly any respondents cited four or more

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[8]The Kansas City and Deep South City samples included 10th, 11th, 12th grade students, the Eastern City and Upper Midwestern City samples consisted of 11th and 12th grade students, and the Lower Midwestern City consisted of 10th and 11th grade students.

organizations, many did name two or three. Organizations which were cited on the first, second, or third blank line under the item were coded and data were entered on standard IBM cards. A respondent was considered to be a supporter of the Black Panthers if he cited the Panthers on the first line and did not cite the NAACP on the second or third line.[9] Conversely, a respondent was considered to be an NAACP supporter if he cited the NAACP on the first line and did not cite the Black Panthers on the second or third line. Defined this way, 165 respondents in our five-city sample of 573 students who responded to the item were classified as Panther supporters, and 151 were classified as NAACP supporters.[10] The numbers and percentages of respondents in each of the five cities who were identified as Panther and NAACP supporters, respectively, were as follows:

	Panther Supporters		NAACP Supporters	
	N	% of Respondents	N	% of Respondents
Kansas City	24	18	64	47
Eastern City	46	36	26	20
Deep South City	50	27	36	19
Upper Midwestern City	33	43	8	10
Lower Midwestern City	12	28	17	40
Total Sample	165	29	151	25

It is interesting to note that the highest percentages of Panther supporters are found in Eastern City and Upper Midwestern City, by far the two largest cities

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[9] Although the Black Panthers were defunct in Kansas City at the time the questionnaire was administered, the organization had been succeeded by a group called "The Sons of Malcolm." Kansas City respondents who cited either the Panthers or the Sons of Malcolm were classified as Panther supporters.

[10] The only other organization cited by as many as 15% of our respondents was the SCLC.

in our sample. In both these cities, relations between the police and the Panthers have been particularly tense and widely-reported incidents have taken place which may have done a good bit to stimulate support for the Panthers among black youth. In Eastern City members of the Black Panther party claim to have been brutally harassed during a national convention of radical groups. In Upper Midwestern City, several Panther leaders were slain during a police raid and city officials never were able to give a satisfactory account of what had taken place after the news media disproved the accounts originally put forward by police officers who had participated in the raid. Our data do not allow us to determine whether size of city, size of the ghetto population, or special circumstances such as those described above are the variables which best account for the relatively high degree of support for the Panthers found among black respondents in our Eastern City and Upper Midwestern City samples, but further research in other very large cities could provide an answer to this important question.

Since it was possible that Panther supporters and NAACP supporters in the sample might differ in social background or other individual status characteristics, and since respondents might differ in their attitudes according to such status or background characteristics, it was necessary to determine whether the Panther and the NAACP supporters in our sample were significantly different in status and background characteristics. In addition, it was of interest in and of itself to learn whether the two groups differed in social background or social status. Accordingly, data on the two groups were examined to determine whether they were similarly constituted with respect to sex, social class, mother's education, and grade level.

No consistent trends were found indicating that a relationship existed between sex and organizational support. For the sample as a whole, 48% of the Panther supporters were male and 43% of the NAACP supporters were male. In none of the five

cities was there a statistically significant tendency

for Panther supporters to be disproportionately of one sex as compared with NAACP supporters. In Kansas City both males and females were NAACP supporters more often than Panther supporters; in Eastern City and Upper Midwestern City the pattern was reversed for both sexes; in Deep South City the proportion of males who were Panther supporters (33%) was a little higher than the proportion who were NAACP supporters (19%), while females were about as likely to be Panther supporters (17%) as NAACP supporters (16%); and in Lower Midwestern City females were a little more likely than males to be NAACP supporters but this trend was not statistically significant. Taken together, these patterns do not suggest that sex is an important variable associated with support for the Panthers versus support for the NAACP among black youth.

Similarly, social class background did not appear to be associated with organizational support among black youth in the sample. Social class placement was determined using Hollingshead's Two-Factor Index which utilizes the occupation and education of the father or head of household to place respondents in social-class categories from 1 (high) to 5 (low). Among Panther supporters in the total sample, 06% were in categories 1-3, 44% were in category 4, and 50% were in category 5; the comparable figures for NAACP supporters were 10%, 43%, and 48%, respectively; in no city was there a definite trend for Panther supporters to be higher or lower than the NAACP supporters in social-class background.

When respondents were categorized according to whether their mothers had completed more or fewer years of school than the median among their classmates, there was a slight trend for Panther supporters to report that their mothers had more education than was reported by NAACP supporters. In three of the five cities, however, this trend was very small, ranging from a 6% difference between the proportions of Panther and NAACP supporters in Lower Midwestern City who reported

their mothers were above the median on education to a 10% difference in Upper Midwestern City. This trend was reversed in Eastern City, moreover, where 50% of the Panther supporters as compared with 58% of the NAACP supporters reported that their mothers were above the median, and it reached significance only in Kansas City, where 87% of the Panther supporters as compared with only 22% of the NAACP supporters reported that their mothers had more education than the median for the Kansas City sample as a whole. Keeping in mind that the percentage of respondents in Kansas City who supported the Panthers (as defined above) was lower than the corresponding percentages in the other cities, this finding suggests that in cities in which support for the Black Panthers among black youth is very low, the Panthers may draw the bulk of their support from youth in relatively well educated families. It does not, however, support the hypothesis that black youth who support the Panthers in most cities are consistently higher or lower in family educational background than are NAACP supporters.

With respect to grade level, Panther and NAACP supporters in the total sample were not significantly different ($X^2 = 2.92$; $df = 2$; $p > .05$). In Deep South City, Upper Midwestern City, and Lower Midwestern City, however, the Panthers did tend to draw their support from underclassmen more frequently than did the NAACP.[11] This difference will be taken into account at the conclusion of the next section comparing the attitudes of respondents who supported the Black Panthers with those of respondents who supported the NAACP.

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[11] It is interesting to speculate whether this pattern may be due to a tendency for younger students in these cities to be more favorable toward the Panthers as compared with the NAACP than were older students or whether Panther supporters in these cities may tend either to drop out of school or to shift their support toward the NAACP or other groups after the 10th or 11th grades. We cannot attempt to answer this question without longitudinal data.

FINDINGS

The attitudes on which comparisons using the total five-city sample were made between black youth who supported the Black Panthers and black youth who supported the NAACP are shown in Table 1. The table describes items which tapped various attitudes involving civil rights and social philosophies as well as the distribution of responses for the two groups of respondents and the chi-squared values and levels of significance for differences between the groups. Conclusions suggested by these data are presented below in the order with which items appear in the table. Differences were not considered reliable unless they reached or exceeded the .05 level of statistical significance. (For intra-city comparisons, however, attention was given to the patterns of differences rather than the levels of significance, because of the small N's in several of the cities.)

1. Section 1 of Table 1 indicates that Black Panthers supporters are more likely to cite the Panthers or other groups (but not the NAACP) as "doing the most to help black people" in connection with their accomplishments "telling the man off" and "developing black pride" than are supporters of the NAACP. Supporters of the NAACP cited the NAACP and other groups in connection with their accomplishments "helping to find jobs" more frequently than did Panther supporters.

2. Part 2 of Table 1 shows that Panther supporters are more distrustful of whites than are NAACP supporters: 76% of the Panther supporters as compared with 56% of the NAACP supporters say they trust fewer than 11% of white people. Inspection of the school-by-school data showed that large differences between the two groups were registered in Kansas City, Upper Midwestern City, and Lower Midwestern City; in Eastern City and Deep South City, however, Panther and NAACP supporters were about equally distrustful of whites. This pattern arose because NAACP supporters in Eastern City and Deep South City were more distrustful of whites than were NAACP supporters in the other cities.

3. For the sample as a whole, the two groups did not differ significantly in responses to the question, "Do you like the average white person you have met?" In Lower Midwestern City, however, Panther supporters were more inclined to say "Hardly any" or "None" than were NAACP supporters ($X^2 = 11.24$; df = 5; $p < .05$).

4. Panther supporters more frequently felt (23%) it would be desirable for the U. S. to be "separated into two nations, one black and one white" than did NAACP supporters (07%). Conversely, 24% of the NAACP supporters as compared with 16% of the Panther supporters felt such separation would be very undesirable. However, the latter part of this pattern was reversed in Eastern City and Deep South City in that Panther supporters in these cities said separation was very undesirable a little more frequently than did NAACP supporters. This pattern arose because NAACP supporters in Eastern City and Deep South City were more in favor of separation than were NAACP supporters in the other cities.

5. Panther supporters described themselves as more unfavorable toward the police than did NAACP supporters. This trend appeared in every city except Deep South City, where Panther supporters were less unfavorable toward the police than was true in the other cities.

6. Panther supporters were more likely to disagree with the "ideas of black people who argue that non-violence is the best way to achieve the goals of black people" than were NAACP supporters. This trend was strongest in Eastern City, where Panther supporters appeared to reject non-violence more frequently than did Panther supporters in the other cities. It also should be mentioned that 57% of the Panther supporters in Eastern City and 50% in Upper Midwestern City either "Disagreed" or "Disagreed very much" with non-violence, thus indicating that in at least some cities the Panthers definitely tend to draw a major part of their support from black youth who reject non-violence.

7. The two groups did not differ significantly in responses to the item, "How

many white people would you say you know well?" An interesting trend was found on this item, however, in that the percentage of Panther supporters who said they did not know a single white person well was slightly higher than was the comparable percentage among NAACP supporters; conversely the percentage of Panther supporters who said they knew 7 or more white persons well was lower than the comparable figure for NAACP supporters. This trend was most pronounced in Kansas City, Upper Midwestem City, and Lower Midwestern City; it did not appear at all in Eastern City and Deep South City, where NAACP supporters said they knew no whites well as often or more often as did Panther supporters.

8. A higher percentage of Panther supporters than of NAACP supporters circled the response category "Guerilla warfare" in responding to the item, "What do you think are the three most important things needed to achieve the goals of black people?" It should be kept in mind, however, that only 8% of the Panther supporters in the total sample gave this response, and in no city was it selected by more than 11% of the Panther supporters.

9. The Panther supporters more frequently answered "Definitely not" in responding to the item, "Do you think the problems between blacks and whites will be solved in a peaceful and constructive way?" than did the NAACP supporters. This trend did not appear in Eastern City and Deep South City, however, where the two groups answered "Definitely not" with about the same frequency.

10. The two groups did not differ significantly in responding to the item, "Do you feel your opportunities for the future are good?" In every city a large majority among both groups responded either "Very good" or "Good."

11. NAACP supporters were more inclined to disagree very much with the item, "People like me don't have much of a chance to be successful in life" than were Panther supporters. This trend was reversed, however, in Eastern City, where Panther supporters were more inclined to strongly disagree with the item than

were NAACP supporters.

The finding that Panther supporters tended to perceive their personal opportunities for the future as "good," both in objective terms and relative to NAACP supporters suggests that the Panthers would still win widespread support even if increased opportunities were made available to black youth who lean toward the party. Since support for the Panthers is associated with such variables as trust in whites (#2) and fatalism (#11) rather than with straightforward assessment of one's personal opportunities, the future of the Panthers or other similarly militant black groups may depend on whether black youngsters now growing up are more or less trustful toward whites and more or less fatalistic than their older brothers and sisters now in the high schools.

Earlier in this paper we reported that Panther supporters in Deep South City, Upper Midwestern City, and Lower Midwestern City appeared to be lower in grade level than were NAACP supporters in these cities. For this reason, we computed Pearson product-moment or point biserial correlations (as appropriate) between grade level and responses to the ten attitude items which provided numerically-ordered data. Lower Midwestern City was the only one of the three cities in which one of the attitude items correlated significantly with grade level: in Upper Midwestern City 12th graders more frequently said they were unfavorable toward the police than were 11th graders ($r_{pb} = .28$; $p < .05$). However, since Panther supporters in Upper Midwestern City appeared to be lower in grade level than were the NAACP supporters, the correlation between grade level and attitude toward the police in Upper Midwestern City cannot account for the tendency for Panther supporters in that city (and in the sample as a whole) to be more unfavorable toward the police than were NAACP supporters.

As noted above, differences between Panther and NAACP were not always consistent or did not always appear in all five cities. In particular, trends in the

sample as a whole with respect to trust in whites, the desirability of separation into "white and black" nations, number of whites known well, and expectations that black-white problems will be peacefully and constructively resolved did not appear in Eastern City and Deep South City. Additional examination of the intra-city data (not reported in the text) indicated that several of these departures from the overall trends occurred in cities in which the total subsamples of respondents (i.e., Panther supporters, NAACP supporters, and all others) stood at the high or low pole on a given variable. For example, the total subsamples in Eastern City and Deep South City were lower on trust in whites and more supportive of separatism than were the subsamples in the other three cities. Similarly, students in the total subsample in Deep South City were more favorable toward the police than were students in any of the four non-southern cities. These findings suggest that attitude trends which differentiate black youth in one city from their counterparts in other cities sometimes override trends which differentiate between Panther and NAACP supporters in that city.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Comparisons were made between the attitudes of respondents who supported the Black Panthers and respondents who supported the NAACP in a five-city sample of black youth attending predominantly- or entirely-black high schools. Panthers supporters were defined as respondents who cited the Black Panthers but not the NAACP as a group "doing the most to help black people"; NAACP supporters were defined in the reverse fashion. For the sample as a whole, 29% of the students who responded to the item were Panther supporters and 25% were NAACP supporters. The percentages of Panther supporters within the five cities ranged from 43% in Upper Midwestern City to 18% in Kansas City. The percentages of NAACP supporters

ranged from 47% in Kansas City to 10% in Upper Midwestern City. For the sample as a whole, the Panthers and the NAACP were supported by roughly equal-sized groups. However, the Panthers received much more support than the NAACP among black youth in the two very large cities which were included in the sample. It is undertain whether this finding may be due to factors such as size of city and size of the black ghetto or to situational factors somewhat unique to the the two large cities.

As compared with NAACP supporters, Panther supporters were more distrustful of whites, more inclined to support separation of the United States into "two nations, one black and one white," less favorable toward the police, more inclined to reject non-violence, more inclined to see "guerilla warfare" as a means to help black people, less expectant that black-white problems will be peacefully and constructively resolved, and more fatalistic about the chances that "people like me" have to succeed in life. In addition, Panther supporters placed greater stress on "telling the man off" and "developing black pride" and less stress on "helping to find jobs" in explaining what the Panthers or other groups were accomplishing to help black people. A slight tendency was found for Panther supporters to report knowing fewer whites well, but this trend was not significant. The two groups did not differ significantly with respect to optimism concerning personal opportunities for the future or to liking-disliking for whites, except that in Lower Midwestern City Panther supporters were significantly more likely to express dislike for whites than were NAACP supporters.

This paper began by asking whether radical militancy associated with the Black Panthers is widely representative of the attitudes of black Americans, particularly black youth. The question stated in that form is too vague to be answerable; therefore we tried instead to determine the degree to which the Panthers receive support in comparison with the best known of the traditional organizations

established to help black Americans - the NAACP, and the direction of differences in attitudes which may exist between supporters of the two groups.

In general, it was found that Panther supporters differed from NAACP supporters on many attitudes involving social philosophy, civil rights, and interracial affairs, and that these differences were in the direction one would expect in view of the Panther's image of radical militancy. But it is important to note that these viewpoints are not necessarily those of the Panthers and in some cases may even run counter to Panther ideology. For example, the Panthers reject separatism as a goal for black Americans and have vigorously opposed cultural nationalist groups on this issue. That Panther supporters in our sample tend to be more supportive of separatism than NAACP supporters suggests that support for the Panthers is as much or more a sign of alineation as an indication of commitment to the Panthers as an organization.

Thus we conclude that while the Panthers are by no means "representative of the mood and aspirations"[12] of all black youth, they do tend to reflect a segment of opinion as large or larger than any other - at least in our sample of two very large northern cities in which run-ins with the police may have stimulated a good deal of sympathy for Panther leaders. Although support for the Panthers among black youth does not necessarily reflect Panther ideology, it does signify alienation; in this sense support for the Panthers may well reflect a more widespread feeling of "violent hatred" and a greater preference for "revolution to reform"[13] among black youth than one might predict from a study of the Panther's official platform. In Upper Midwestern City, for example, 43% of our respondents were classified as Panther supporters, and 50% within this group disagreed with the ideas of "black

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[12] The New York Times, op. cit.

[13] Ibid.

people who argue that non-violence is the best way to achieve the goals" of black Americans. If our sample from a segregated high school in Upper Midwestern City is at all representative of the views of segregated black youth elsewhere in this highly segregated city - and we have no reason to believe it is not, the widespread support which the Panthers received is but the surface manifestation of widespread and perhaps explosive alienation among black youth in that city and other cities in which the Panthers have gained this amount of support.

TABLE 1

Responses of Black Panther Supporters and NAACP Supporters on Eleven Items Dealing with Social Philosophy, Civil Rights, and Interracial Affairs

Item	Group[a]	Response Categories		Chi-square	df	p[b]
1. In what ways is the group or group you cited doing the most to help black people?	BP	Telling the Man off				
		%	(N)			
	BP	15	(13)	5.05	1	<.025
	NAACP	02	(1)			
		Developing black pride				
		%	(N)			
	BP	56	(48)	4.76	1	<.05
	NAACP	36	(19)			
		Helping to find jobs				
		%	(N)			
	BP	25	(21)	8.79	1	<.005
	NAACP	51	(27)			
2. About what percentage of whites do you feel you can trust?		0-10%		11-20%		20% +				
		%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)			
	BP	76	(108)	05	(7)	19	(27)			
	NAACP	56	(68)	06	(7)	38	(46)	12.43	2	<.005
3. Do you like the average white you have met?		Almost all		Most		Some		A few		Hardly any or none				
		%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)			
	BP	08	(13)	14	(23)	25	(40)	31	(49)	21	(34)	5.43	4	n.s.
	NAACP	09	(12)	21	(29)	31	(44)	24	(33)	16	(22)			
4. Do you feel this /separation into two nations, one black and one white/ would be desirable or undesirable?		Very desirable or Desirable		Unsure		Undesirable		Very undesirable						
		%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)					
	BP	23	(36)	38	(59)	24	(37)	16	(25)	20.51	3	<.001		
	NAACP	07	(10)	31	(43)	38	(53)	24	(34)					
5. How would you describe your attitudes toward the police?		Very favorable or favorable		Not sure		Unfavorable		Very unfavorable						
		%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)					
		29	(46)	25	(40)	21	(33)	24	(38)	21.45	3	<.001		
		43	(59)	36	(50)	12	(17)	08	(11)					

TABLE 1 (Cont'd.)

Item	Group[a]	Response Categories								Chi-square	df	p[b]
6. How do you feel about the ideas of black people who argue that non-violence is the best way to achieve the goals of black people?		Agree very much or Agree much		Agree a little		Disagree		Disagree very much				
		%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)			
	BP	38	(50)	25	(33)	16	(21)	21	(28)	16.45	3	<.001
	NAACP	55	(60)	31	(34)	08	(9)	06	(7)			
7. How many white people would you say you know well?		None		1 or 2		3-6		7 or more				
		%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)			
	BP	42	(50)	18	(26)	17	(24)	23	(33)	2.80	3	n.s.
	NAACP	36	(46)	15	(19)	18	(23)	31	(40)			
8. What do you think are the three most important things needed to achieve the goals of black people?		Guerilla warfare		Response other than Guerilla warfare								
		%	(N)	%	(N)							
	BP	09	(13)	91	(145)					7.61	1	<.01
	NAACP	01	(1)	99	(137)							
9. Do you think the problems between blacks and whites will be solved in a peaceful and constructive way?		Very definitely or Definitely		Probably		Probably not		Definitely not				
		%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)			
	BP	08	(12)	25	(38)	37	(56)	29	(44)	9.08	3	<.05
	NAACP	04	(5)	37	(50)	41	(56)	18	(25)			
10. Do you feel your opportunities for the future are good?		Very good		Good		Mediocre, Poor or Very Poor						
		%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)					
	BP	25	(37)	50	(75)	25	(37)			1.33		n.s.
	NAACP	20	(26)	57	(73)	23	(29)					
11. People like me don't have much of a chance to be successful in life.		Agree very much or Agree		Not sure		Disagree		Disagree very much				
		%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)			
	BP	12	(17)	14	(21)	45	(65)	29	(43)	7.93	3	<.05
	NAACP	06	(7)	20	(25)	34	(42)	40	(49)			

[a] BP = Black Panther supporters; NAACP = NAACP supporters. For item 1, respondents who cited only the Panthers or the NAACP, respectively, as "doing the most to help black people" were classified as Panther supporters or NAACP supporters. See the text for the method of classification used on the other items.

[b] n.s. = not significant at .05 level. N's vary on each item in accordance with the numbers of non-respondents.